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which has given him more pleasure than when, one winter's morning, talking with the librarian of the above-mentioned library, he watched the visitors come in, both young and old, male as well as female, and, after consulting the bulletin of that day's news, go at once to the desk and ask for such books as referred to those subjects in which each was particularly interested. This surely is work worth doing, for it trains the reader in that very desirable habit of investigating for himself, and incidentally inculcates a love of reading which is sure to prove a lasting source of happiness and contentment.

Such, also, is the kind of coöperation which this same librarian has established between himself and the school teachers in his city. He urges these latter to bring the scholars to the library that they may there consult books and pictures having reference to their courses of study. The enthusiasm which such a man brings to his daily work makes not only the library a pleasant place to go to, but tends, in a very marked degree, to make the schoolroom happier and its daily task more beneficial. Of this city it cannot justly be said, as was charged by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams in speaking of a certain New England town, "that though the school and the library stand in our main street, side by side, there is, so to speak, no bridge leading from the one to the other."

In the city above referred to there is a steady stream constantly passing between the school and the library, and the good results of such investigation are best shown by the class of books which the pupils in its public schools are using. It is this energy of the modern librarian which has developed the newer life in library management of which mention has been made, and his continued enthusiasm must be depended upon to still further increase the usefulness of which free public libraries are capable. The good service which such a librarian can render to a community may, however, be very much hampered, if his library is under the charge of a board of trustees who have no true conception of the possibilities for usefulness of the institution under their charge. Too often does it happen that, unmindful of what is being done in other cities, they permit matters to drift along, regarding the ideas advanced by a librarian, such as above described, as foolish and impracticable. The problems of library science are as important as those which present themselves to school committees, and a trustee who, either from unwillingness, or from want of time, does not to some extent at least make a study of them, is a detriment to the community, because he is occupying a place which might be filled by some one who would meet the librarian's zeal with his own enthusiastic interest in the subject. Given a city or town with both a progressive librarian and an enthusiastic and investigating school superintendent, their respective boards being in hearty sympathy with them, and there is practically no limit to the good educational work which their combined efforts will accomplish. The school, teaching how to read, and the library, teaching what to read, will together raise the standard of the literature read in that city, which result must show fruit in the increased happiness and intelligence of its inhabitants.

E. C. HOVEY.

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#### LABOR POLITICS IN A NEW PLACE.

SINCE the Reform Act of 1884, Labor candidates at parliamentary elections in England have been numerous. There were three Labor members in

the House of Commons in the period which intervened between the reform acts of 1837 and 1834. The first of these acts enfranchised the working classes in the boroughs; the second enfranchised those in the rural communities; but it was not until after the last of the measures of parliamentary reform that Labor candidates came forward in any large numbers at the general elections. They appeared in considerable numbers at the election of 1885; a larger number came forward in 1886, at the election which followed the rejection of the last Home Rule bill; and in 1892 the number was again greatly increased, with the result that in the present House of Commons there are sixteen or seventeen Labor members, representatives of both the old and the new trade-unionism.

Until about two years ago, Labor candidates had sought election only to the House of Commons. Within the last two years, however, they have sought seats on the town councils, on the school boards, and on the boards of guardians for the relief of the poor. These are separate and distinct local bodies, elected at different times, but practically on the same franchise, and on a franchise under which all householders, whether men or women, have votes. As is the case with membership of the House of Commons, no pay attaches to membership of any of these local administrative bodies, although service on them entails large calls on the time of members.

All the city and town councils in England are fashioned on the same model, that set up by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, and in the month of November each year in every municipality in the country, at least one-third of the members of the town council are elected. The municipal elections in 1892 followed too closely upon the general election to admit of the success of the Labor candidates in the Parliamentary contests having its full effect upon the new movement in municipal politics; but the quickening effect of that success was apparent at the elections in the municipalities in November, 1893.

The Labor movement in national politics in 1892 was strongest in the north of England, in the mining constituencies of Lancashire and Yorkshire and of Durham and Northumberland, and it was in these counties that the introduction of Labor politics into municipal affairs was everywhere apparent in the November elections. Nine Labor candidates were put forward in Manchester, five or six in Salford, several in each of the boroughs of Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax, and, in fact, there was scarcely a large municipality in the industrial districts of the north of England in which one or more Labor candidates did not seek election to the town council. In some places these candidates came out as Socialists, in others as the representatives of the Independent Labor movement, and wherever a Labor candidate was nominated little heed was paid to the old party lines, the representatives of Labor being put forward in opposition to both Liberal and Conservative candidates.

Imperial politics have absolutely nothing to do with the duties which Parliament has imposed on town councils. All these bodies are merely administrative, and each is held in check by the Local Government Board in London. Notwithstanding this fact, in many of the English municipalities the members of the councils are elected on party lines; and these lines are as well drawn at the annual town elections in November as at the Parliamentary elections. At the municipal elections the Liberals have always claimed the support of the working classes. Hitherto they have generally received it, but it now seems to be the policy of the local leaders of the

more aggressive section of the new democracy to nominate candidates of their own class and to put forward demands in behalf of labor in municipal as well as in national politics.

As yet these demands have not been embodied in a programme which is accepted by the Labor party in all the municipalities. The municipal Labor programme is not so well defined as is the Newcastle programme of the Radicals, the Fabian programme, or the programme of the Independent Labor party in national politics. It is, however, gradually defining itself, and the shape the Labor programme will ultimately take may be ascertained with some exactness from a perusal of the speeches which were made in the municipalities at the November elections. From these it is easy to note the points on which the Labor party is disposed to make new departures in municipal government.

To begin with, the prevailing idea with the Labor party in municipal politics appears to be that the employers and the moneyed classes have hitherto enjoyed more than their fair share of the management of town affairs. In a measure this is true, for the municipal candidates of both the old political parties have always been drawn exclusively from the middle classes. In order to bring about some equalization, the Labor party is demanding the abolition of the aldermanic bench in the city councils. Aldermen owe their presence in the existing municipal system to the action of the House of Lords when the Municipal Reform bill was before it in 1835. The aldermanic principle was introduced with the intention of safeguarding property, and by its working one-fourth of the members of every city council are elected by the council itself, and not by the direct vote of the townspeople. The Radicals long ago objected to the aldermanic principle, but of late they have ceased to agitate for its abolition, and the campaign which the Radicals began and continued for nearly half a century, has been taken up by the Labor party, which is now seeking so to amend the constitution of all governing bodies that every member shall owe his place to the direct votes of the constituents.

The Socialistic Labor party in the municipalities affirms that "it sees in the municipal machinery an important means by which it can work out the industrial emancipation which is at the bottom of its policy." But the Socialists and the Independent Labor party are in agreement in many of the demands they are making. Both ask for an eight-hours day for all servants of the municipalities, and for trade-union wages to all workmen engaged on public works. They are also in agreement in the demand that there shall be an end to the contractor and the middleman in work undertaken for or by the municipality. When a new drainage scheme is to be carried out or a bridge rebuilt, the Labor party insist that the work shall be done under the supervision of officers of the municipality and by workmen directly in its pay. They also insist that the same principle shall be adopted in all work paid for out of public money. A large municipality like Manchester or Liverpool, for instance, pays out thousands of pounds every year for the uniforms of its police force, its fire brigade, and its army of inspectors. Under the existing arrangement the city council invites bids from tailors for the furnishing of these uniforms, and usually accepts the lowest of the offers. The Labor party is anxious to put an end to this system of competition for municipal orders, and in its place calls for the establishment of municipal workshops and clothing factories in which trade-union rates of pay and conditions of work shall prevail, and requires that

in these workshops and factories, as in connection with all other public works, the municipality shall set an example to all other employers of labor.

The municipalization of the street-car lines is also demanded by the Socialists. In Manchester there was a protest against the extension of the large tenement-block system, and a demand for more self-contained cottages on the outskirts of the city, with the provision of better railroad and street-car facilities for reaching them. A kindred demand was that in every new dwelling-house the town council shall insist that there shall be a bathroom, no matter how small the house or the rental at which it is to be let. Other demands in Manchester and Salford were that gas should be sold at net cost, and that the coke produced at the municipal gasworks should, irrespective of the price of coal, be sold at prices placing it within the means of the poorer classes.

In almost every city where the Labor party took an active part in the November elections, there were protests against the salaries paid to the higher municipal officials, and demands for the levelling down of the salaries of the lawyers who hold the office of town clerk, and of the borough engineers and their assistants, and the levelling up of the wages of the unskilled day laborers employed by the municipality. These men receive wages which range from eighteen shillings to one pound a week. These wages are regarded as inadequate by the Labor politicians, who, on the other hand, maintain that the salaries paid the more responsible members of the permanent municipal staff are altogether too high. There are not a score of men, all told, in the service of the English municipalities who receive salaries of a thousand pounds a year; but the Labor politicians insist that no such salary should be paid, but that £250 a year should be the maximum salary for municipal officials, no matter what their qualifications or the responsibilities of the offices.

On one or two points there is a remarkable lack of agreement between the Labor politicians in the different municipalities: In Salford, for instance, the Labor leaders, especially those representing the older trade-unionism, objected to the maintenance of the Labor Bureau which the Town Council established in the winter of 1892, when the unemployed problem became pressing. Their complaint against the bureau was that it showed the needs of labor and enabled the employers to obtain men for less wages than would otherwise be paid. The same complaint, it may be noted, has been brought against the *Labor Gazette*, which has been published by the Board of Trade since Mr. Mundella extended the Labor Department at Whitehall. Almost at the same time that the Salford Labor leaders were putting forward their plea against the local labor bureau, the Labor leaders in Liverpool were urging the city council to follow the lead of Salford and establish a labor bureau, with a view to reducing the number of the unemployed.

Only a few of the demands put forward by the Labor party at the municipal elections can possibly be accepted by the town councils to which they were addressed, and to which the Labor party elected a fair number of their representatives. Largely increased Parliamentary powers will be necessary if many of these demands are to be conceded, and these new powers can only be obtained by a much further development of the Labor and Socialistic movement in national politics. This development, however, will be greatly aided by the organization and activity of the Labor party which were shown in the municipal elections in November.

EDWARD PORRITT,